[592] [591] man and wife and their unmarried children. The married children left their parents and made a new family unit. Again referring to the *Watarishima Hikki*, "The eldest son, after reaching maturity, would take a wife and live separately from his parents, the other [928] children also following suit. When the father died the son who was still living in his father's house succeeded him as head of the family." In the *Etorofu Shi* [History of Etorofu] we find, "In accordance with their ages they would wed as they reached maturity and live apart from their parents or even before marriage as they desired." In a hunting and fishing economy the members of a family were few in number. When the number of houses in a village exceeded the productive capacity of the neighborhood the new households moved to another area and another village was founded. Quite frequently neighboring villages joined with each other through marriage between villages.[47] Most marriage was between relatives and, although the general custom was that parental consent be given, there were marriages made by sale or by abduction. Divorce was not difficult to obtain if sufficient reasons were given. How- [586] [622] ever, both marriage and divorce required the approval of the chief. The Ainu family system was patriarchal, the wife having a low status. For example, she was [562] strictly forbidden to utter her husband's name.[48] She could not worship God directly by herself.[49] She had to refrain from speaking directly to any male guest.[50] [837] In cases of adultery the man was relieved of any responsibility if he could prove that the woman had been the one who proposed the act, but in any case the woman was severely punished.[51] The affairs of the family were run by the father and as long as his family problems did not come into conflict with the interests of his relatives or his village he was at liberty to do as he pleased. The chief was, within his own family, not a chief but a family head. While the Ainu [621] villages remained in a primitive communal state, there seems to have been no economic difference between the families composing the village but, with the development of family units, differences in wealth did spring up according to the labor capacity of each family, the [567] basic difference being the number of wives and slaves possessed. It has been said that the Ainu were polygamous. The *Ezo Zakki Yakusetsu*, vol. 2, states that 595 a man usually had many wives: "One man had two wives . . .," while *Ezo Dan Hikki* [Notes of Conversations on Ezo] notes: "A single man had four or

[47] *Sapporo Kushi*, 156.

[48] Hokkaidō chō, *Kyūdojin ni kan suru chōsa* (Inquiry into the aborigines), 65.

[49] *Ibid.* Also *Hokkaidō Kyūdojin*, 8.

[50] "She was bashful and refrained from speaking to a *Shamo* (a Japanese) keeping her eyes on the ground. If an Ainu were there she would ask him to speak for her." *Igen Zokuwa.*

[51] "When a woman seduced a man and succeeded, the man took off the woman's earring. When accused the man would show the ring and be set free and the woman alone would be punished." *Ezo Dan Hikki.*

595 [554] five wives or even seven or eight wives. The higher the man's position the more wives he had." It is well known that Chief Tsukinoi of Kunashiri had eighteen wives. Each of these wives had separate homes and in the *Tsugaru Kibun* [Strange Stories About Tsugaru] we find:

> Those who left the village to work had a wife at each place they stopped. However these women were wives in name only as they were given no support for living. Whenever the men left for work they rested at these houses or they even made a trip for the sole purpose of visiting these wives after which they would return to their permanent dwellings.

It has been suggested that the polygamy of the Ainu was due to carnal excess or to the vanity of having many wives or to the desire for many children. However, I believe that Ainu polygamy was due to the prevalence of compassionate marriage in their society and there is evidence for this belief. In the *Ezo Shima Ki* [768] it says, "When a man died, his wife instead of going to her kinsfolk, went to live with her husband's close relatives. Therefore, a man with many relatives had many wives." Polygamy also seems to have resulted from the custom of the rich caring for the widows as is seen in *Watarishima Hikki*:

[622] It was usual for the chief to have many wives. Although those of ill character took advantage of this custom and caused no little trouble, yet this custom was not due to their licentious desires. Those who were poor or weak from old age and who realized that their daughters would not be secure in their livelihood as the wife of an average man asked the chief to take their daughter as his mistress.

[557] It is true that those with many wives gained great economic benefit from their free labor and later there arose the custom of taking many wives simply for the economic advantages. The *Matsumae Shi* states: "Those who were supporting many wives were, without exception, always wealthy."

567 Slaves, called *Utare*, existed in Ainu society. Although there have been various opinions about the exact status of the *Utare*, the *Ezo Fūdoki* takes them to be slaves: "There were slaves called *Utare*. When in the presence of a chief they extended their hands, bent their bodies and never failed to show respect. During periods of mourning at their master's house they served him food." The *Ezo Sōshi* refers to them as follows: "Those with power and wealth had many house servants called *Utare* who served hereditarily. When the master went out of the village to work, his *Utare* and his wives accompanied him and would help the master." The *Moshiogusa* [Vocabulary of Ainu] refers to them as retainers or servants. Batchelor says, however, that the word *Utare* originally meant "fellowmen" or "man" and Dr. Kindaichi in his *Karafuto Ainu Goi* [Karafuto Ainu Vocabulary][52]

[52] Kindaichi Kyōsuke trans., *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu stories), Suppl.

[P. 19 (A)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

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Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.[23] Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.[24] The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hero was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.[25] Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaishō* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

[23] That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

[24] An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in Usu *Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

[25] *Hokkaidō Shi* 15.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 appeared to them that polygamy was not only good and useful, but a quite proper institution, so why make such a change? It would be an injustice to the women were they to be got rid of! The poor man was much distressed upon hearing this, but there was no help for it.

"Later on, the missionary left that country for a season of rest at home. But he was shouldering a heavy burden and his heart was sore within him, because he had won no converts. Upon his return the following year to the scene of his labours, he was much rejoiced to be met by a native friend who told him that he had, after much wrestling with his conscience, made up his mind to make a sacrifice and have only one wife, and had, therefore, now become a monogamist! This was great good news and the missionary was highly delighted with such a wonderful victory, 'What has become of your discarded wife?' he asked. 'I ate her up,' he replied." And so amid laughter the story ended.

However, one of the Ainu women who heard it was not at all pleased and spoke to me about it afterwards, when I found that she took quite an unexpected yet perhaps, for an Ainu, a natural view of the matter. Said she: "But, Sir, what a wicked missionary that foreigner was!" "Why, whatever do you mean?" I asked. To this she made quite a long answer. "Oh, don't you see, Sir? Was he not the direct cause first of a murder and then of surprising that poor man into an act of cannibalism. I consider him to have been a very wicked missionary. And, why? my own people
● 595 do not, some of them, think it wrong to have a plurality of wives. Has not Mr. So and So four of them? His first two Ainu and the other two Japanese? And does he not sometimes walk out with them all together, he first and they reverentially following after in order?" I must confess that this was news to me. But do not

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

CHAPTER XVIII

A WOMAN CHANGED INTO A BEAR

In a former chapter I told how the Ainu have a story about a baby being changed into a bird, namely a goat-sucker. In the following legend we are told how a woman was turned into a bear, and how a bear became a man and then changed back into a bear again. We also saw in another place how another woman became a frog. And in this story now to be translated we have it mentioned that the Northern Ainu, like the Orok and Ghilyak tribes, practised polyandry. In fact, I believe it really means that brothers and sisters married one another up there in olden times.

"There was a certain village in which there lived two brothers who occupied the same house. They were expert hunters. So clever were they that they used to kill their quarry with lances only. When they went hunting seals, whether by boat on the sea or walking on the ice, they took many of these creatures. Although there were many brave people in the other villages, yet there were none who were as clever and brave and fortunate as these two men.

"One day the whole family stayed resting and talking in the house, but on the day following the men went out to catch large trout. The chief wife went off to dig up tubers (*Corydalis*) on the slopes of a solitary mountain there was near the place. While busy digging up the roots, a young man came down the slope out of the forest. He had a fine black beard. He came up to the place where she was working and asked her for her pipe, saying, 'Please hand me your pipe and

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

to the house and to work, preparing a *special dish. I filled the pounding trough to the brim with the dough.'

"'As soon as I left the house that morning to go and dig up the bulbs, my husbands (plural) went off to catch seals. Presently they returned loaded with a fine catch. Every day up till this time I had taken the wet shoes from my husbands when they came in and hung them up to dry for them, but today I did not approach them when they arrived. As I was giving my sole attention to the special dish I was preparing, I made no attempt that day to take and hang up my husbands' wet shoes. My younger sister cooked their meat by herself and gave them to eat. Besides those belonging to the house, the neighbours also were invited to come and eat with them.**

"'By the time they had partaken of the meat and had eaten it all up, I had finished making the special food and had filled many bowls with it. These I handed round to all present and they partook of this also. When the feast was over, the guests returned to their homes. Our family then retired to their sleeping places, but I myself kept all my clothes on, buckled on my belt, and thus lay down by the hearth. I did not go to bed.

"'One of my husbands soon went to sleep but the other found he could not rest, so came over and sat down by my side. He urged me with sweet words to retire to rest, but I would not do so. (*She was attired for a journey and prepared to set out at a moment's notice*). He soon left me and went off again to his bed, where he slept till morning, leaving me as I was.

*The special dish would consist of bulbs and roots of various kinds and berries mashed up together. It was regarded as a special delicacy and was often given to speed the parting guest.

**It was a custom among the Ainu to invite their friends in to eat some of the good things they might happen to have come by, and some was also sent in to friends who could not be present.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

place; and that was with a sister-in-law's sister or brother's wife's sister. A few years ago a man asked me to provide a husband for his daughter, and another a wife for his son. I promised to do my best and paid a visit to a certain young lady. She told me that she would like to have the very young man I proposed to her. I then approached my intended bridegroom and he also, I found, had his eye on this same young lady. On telling the respective fathers of my happy arrangements and asking their approval to the little scheme, I was informed that the choice was most unfortunate. The girl was a sister of the young man's brother's wife and old custom would not allow of such a union. I was told that it was very unlucky to allow such marriages, and displeasing to the gods. Some punishment would be sure to follow if they were married, and one of the two sisters would be certain to die within a year if the law of custom was transgressed. And so I washed my hands of the whole affair.

Seeing that the Ainu had no family names to perpetuate, I was surprised to learn that it was considered a very great disgrace for a couple to have no children. This world, they told me, is named *sare-moshiri*, i.e. "the multiplying world," and people are placed in it to increase and multiply. If, therefore, no children were forthcoming, it was considered to be a special punishment from the gods. The men wish for a boy and the women for a girl or two.

I found that polygamy was practised, as has been already noticed, and that the various wives lived in separate dwellings and that these females were often not on speaking terms. All the concubines were much afraid of the principal wife. And it made it very awkward if the chief wife had no children, and any of the secondary ones had. Old Penri had three of them at one time, but, as there were no children at all by any of them, they got along fairly well. If the chief wife, who lived in the hut in which I dwelt, had

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

593 a quarrel with any of the others, she used to go to
● 595 bed after it and stay there two or three whole days, so that I just had to look after myself and cook my own millet and potatoes. But she would come creeping out of her sleeping place, beaming with smiles, in the end, and all would be well till the next set-to.

562 The men desired a son very much, and the chief reasons for this were firstly, that he might act as family priest when the father died; secondly, that he might inherit, preserve and hand down to posterity the principal heirlooms and family treasures; and thirdly, that he might act as head of the family and take the place of the father to the younger members thereof. The women desired a girl or two, that there might be someone to assist in cooking, drawing water, getting wood and working in the gardens; and also to help in preparing the bark for making clothes and so on, but especially have I heard them say that they want girls so as to have someone to look after them when they grow old.

586 Release from the matrimonial bond was easy of accomplishment. Some of the grounds upon which a man would release himself from his wife were: incompatibility of temper; want of love between the two; disrespect on the wife's part; idleness and failure to keep the nut supplied with fuel and the pot with vegetables; unfaithfulness; lack of male issue. But, inasmuch as the wife considered it her duty to keep the husband and work for him, she very seldom failed to have plenty of vegetable food and fuel. But if she grew to dislike him and he failed to bring home fish or bear's meat or venison for the larder, she would simply return to her parents and so dissolve the relationship. When a man sent his wife away, he made her
[B-31] a present through her parents, and that closed the case. When there was any issue, the father took the boys and the mother the girls.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

grave and regarded the foreigners with great reverence. They then raised their hands and placed them on top of their heads and brought their hands down over their faces and beards and uttered a whining noise, ending with a sharp cry like the bark of a dog. 576

I have never seen this ceremony carried out in full, as described, but I doubt not the description is correct, for I have observed both the holding of the hands together and the stroking of the beard. Another form of the ceremony (Pl. CVII) represents the meeting of brother and sister, also from Mr. Greey. 576 583

The man held the woman's hand for a few seconds, then suddenly releasing his hold, grasped her by both ears and uttered the Aino cry. Then they stroked one another down the face and shoulders.

This form did not come under my observation, nor did I witness any such performances as the same author describes in the meeting of father and son.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

The best account of the marriage customs is that given by Dr. Scheube, from which the following particulars are abstracted: the Ainos marry early, the men at about the age of 18, the women at 16; polygamy is permitted, but not much practiced; morality between the unmarried is not very strictly enforced, but children born through such relations are no bar to future marriage. 582 595 836

The marriage customs resemble those of the Japanese. The parents usually select wives or husbands for their children. A young man rarely courts his wife directly, but through a go-between. As soon as the matter is satisfactorily arranged by the latter, the young man sends a portion of saké to the parents of his intended bride. After some time the latter sends a gift of saké and an *inao*, or God-stick, to the bridegroom. This is a sign that the marriage is to take place on the next day. In the evening of that day the neighbors assemble at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The bride comes in company with her parents and the intermediary. They depart about midnight to re-assemble the next morning, and the feasting goes on for 2 or 3 days, according to the circumstances of the young couple, who from henceforth live in the house of the man's parents. 584 585 [941]

Not many children are born; usually 3 or 4, and more boys than girls. The children are suckled until 4 or 5 years of age. 163 853

Divorces are not common. A man can only send his wife back to her parents by obtaining their consent. 586

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

Burial usually takes place on the day of death or on the following day. The friends and relatives assemble, bringing with them food and saké, which are placed before the body and, after the burial, shared by all in common. The corpse is clothed and placed in a wooden coffin, 764

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

indeed sorry when Benry, exercising his authority, sent several of my sitters to dress up in their best clothes—often Japanese—while I should have preferred to sketch them in their every-day rags. I must say, for their sake, that they were never sent to wash. Being a rapid sketcher, I had recourse to a trick. I pretended to sketch one given person, who, of course, was sent at once to "dress up," and while he or she, after having returned, posed patiently for half an hour or more, I in the meantime took sketches of four or five different natives, who were not aware that they were being portrayed. As the Ainu—and they are probably not the only people—could not make either head or tail of my sketches, my trick was never found out.

One day, old Benry led me by the hand in the most affectionate manner to a hut some way off, and confidentially told me that we were going to see his favourite girl and her boy.

"This," said the chief triumphantly as we went in, "this is Benry's *Pirika menoko*" (pretty girl), "and that"—pointing to a youth—"her only son."

"And what about the old hairy lady in your own hut?" I inquired.

"That is my *Poromachi*" (great wife), said he, qualifying matters with a compliment to the elder woman, "and this is my *Pon-machi*" (small wife).

"Why should you have two wives, you old Mormon?"

"Nishpa," retorted he, "my great wife is old, and she is only fit to do all the rough work in the house and out. My hair is white, but I am strong, and I wanted yet a young wife."

Indeed, there was enough mother-wit in Benry to have made him either a scamp or a philosopher. His theories were as remarkable as they were accommodating, particularly to himself.

Returning from the house of his love, the chief was in a very talkative mood, and he related two or three Japanese stories, which he wanted me to believe to be pure Ainu legends. A learned missionary and two or three travellers before him, who had visited Piratori previous to myself, have accepted these so-called legends wholesale, taking Benry's word for their accuracy, which, as the old chief speaks very good Japanese, of course simplified the task of understanding and

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIX.

Marital Relations, and Causes that Limit Population.

THE laws of marriage in the Ainu country are not very stringent; in fact, there are no laws. If a young man takes a fancy to a pretty hairy maid, and the maid reciprocates his affections, all they have to do is to go and live together, and there is no Mrs. Grundy to be scandalised at the want of closer forms and ceremonies. There is no function to celebrate the occasion; there are no wedding presents, no bridesmaids, no officiating clergyman, and no old slipper flung after the happy pair as soon as the knot is tied. The bridegroom either goes to live in his bride's hut, or, if he does not care for his mother-in-law, he will bring his lady-love to his own father's hut. Usually, however, the two, especially if their respective families are large, prefer to build a hut of their own. The honeymoon is spent in house-building, and while the bride carries the loads of timber and long reeds, the bridegroom accomplishes the more difficult task of putting them together as well as he can for future shelter. All goes well with the happy couple until the roof has to be lifted up bodily and perched on the forked poles, during which process "family rows" generally begin. But they do not last long, and when the house is finished, though not decorated, home peace reigns within, and the bridegroom, as we have already seen, proceeds to ornament his chief treasure—his wife—with tattoos on her arms. This idyllic state of things is not specially permanent, for soon after this first marriage the Ainu feels that he would like another wife, and, without thinking twice about it, he

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

595 marries again. Though savage and barbarian, the Ainu is shrewd enough not to take his second wife to live with his first, for he knows what the result would be, human nature [150] being the same in Yezo as it is in London, and jealousy as strong among the tattooed women of the hairy people as among the fair-skinned daughters of the West. All women are bad enough when out of temper, but the Ainu women are pre-eminent in this respect. Our shock-haired bigamist calls his first wife *poro-machi*—"great wife," and he calls the other *pon-machi*—"small wife;" and as long as the two females do not live under the same roof they are all happy with the arrangement. If, indeed, he chooses to have more than these two wives he thinks small blame to himself. There is no bar of any kind in his code to his having a third "half;" but this seldom happens now, for the women are not in such over abundance in the Ainu country as to allow each man to indulge in a "triple alliance." The Ainu are therefore polygamists when they can find the third woman, and almost always bigamists when this is possible. The wife does not 551 take her husband's name, for no Ainu has a family surname; 585 and each man or woman is called after some peculiarity which he or she possesses, or after some event or accident which has befallen them. For instance, *Una-charo*, a man's name, means "Sprinkled-ashes," and *Yei-Ainu*, "Dangerous Ainu," &c.; and *Korunke*, a woman's name, means "Ice-eater;" *Reoback*, "Who burst three times," and so on, each person having a different name, which is nothing more than a nick-name. When the girl gets married she does not drop this nick-name, neither, as has been said, does she take her husband's name, though sometimes she is called So-and-So's wife. Supposing that Miss Burst-three-times were to marry Mr. Sprinkled-ashes, she would be Mr. Sprinkled-ashes' wife, and would still be called by her maiden name, Burst-three-times.

162 It is impossible to quote exact statistics of the Ainu population, and whether the women outnumber the men, but from my own observation I should think that females are in excess of the males in some districts, and about even in others.

593 The man, naturally, is the lord and master of the household, 562 and the wife is like a kind of inferior being or a slave, whose duty it is to obey her male companion. She has to yield in

6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

Kenichi Sugiura
Tokyo University

Harumi Befu
University of Missouri

The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

Family

Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

DEATH AND BURIAL

Social Mourning

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[115] The following account is based on information given by six elders and some elderly women, supplemented by my excellent informant Nesukrek-guru and my own limited observation. The mourners enter softly and slowly, the men advancing with bodies bowed down, hands hanging in front to or below the level of the knees. The women steal in meekly, stooping even lower. The body has been dressed and adorned, that of a man with a sword, a woman with a necklace. The near relatives sit beside the body in proper order. This varies with the status of the deceased, and during the proceedings a relative may for a time yield a place of honour to another or to a close friend, but the diagram (text fig. 7 B) shows the order generally preserved. There may be a number of near relatives ranged on either side of the corpse, but six have special importance. None of these sits at the head, which is kept for those who go in turn to weep their last farewell. No. 1 is the chief mourner but No. 4 occupies the seat of honour.

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If the deceased is an elder or householder, No. 1 is the oldest son available, and failing him a brother, the elder always having preference. No. 2 is a sister, or if none available a daughter. No. 3 is the widow, or failing her a sister. These are called *ram-koro-guru* (heart-having). No. 4 is a brother, or if none a sister. Nos. 5 and 6 are sisters or close female relatives.

If the deceased is the wife of an elder or householder No. 1 is her husband or if dead a son. No. 2 is the mother, her sister or the deceased's sister. No. 3 is a sister; No. 4 a brother; Nos. 5 and 6 near female relatives.

If the deceased is an unmarried man No. 1 is his father or father's brother. No. 2 is his father's mother or mother's sister. No. 3 is the mother,[1] or her sister. No. 4 is the father's father or failing him father's brother. No. 5 is the father's sister and No. 6 the mother's sister.

If the deceased is an unmarried woman No. 1 is her father, or his brother or failing him the mother's brother. No. 2 is the mother's mother or her sister. No. 3 is the mother, or her sister.

of Ethnology, Vol. 16, 3/4, p. 290; *Materials for Summarised Ethnography of Eastern Asiatic Peoples*, Vol. II, *The Ainu*, Tokyo, 1944).—H.W.

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[1] If the mother of a dead child was a junior wife she was entitled to the position of a chief wife for herself and her relatives.—N.G.M.

leges are shared. Moreover, the name is descriptive, and it is not clear whether the Ainu use it among themselves or merely gave it by way of definition in answer to investigation.

Premarital intercourse was prohibited; if such an offence occurred a conference (*charange*) was held and usually a penalty was imposed, often the confiscation of some family treasures. If there was no infringement of *kut* exogamy the couple were allowed to marry. Munro was told that, in the old days, if a married man seduced an unmarried girl it was considered a crime comparable to murder.

It will be seen that the following regulations, which Munro recorded and the Ainu believe were given to their ancestors with the instructions regarding the making and wearing of the *upshoro-kut*, are not all founded on matrilineal exogamy:

1. Kut exogamy in matrilineal descent: Munro did not record that matrilineal exogamy was limited in any particular way, but as he did not find a woman who could trace her descent beyond her great-grandmother, the *kut* prohibition is almost certainly restricted to the *matikir esap utar* described by Mr Sugiura.
2. The levirate, known as *matraie*, 'wife uplifting', was an established custom but is no longer considered obligatory. Mr Sugiura states that marriage with the younger brother's widow was prescribed, but forbidden with the elder brother's widow. Munro states that a widow had the right to live with her eldest son who would be responsible for her maintenance, and that sometimes a special house was built for her.
3. No man might marry two sisters; Munro was told that sisters having the same *kut* were regarded as one person. Polygyny was permitted, each wife having a separate house, but owing to the poverty of the Ainu it was not frequent and Munro does not refer to any examples known to him at the time of his investigation.[1]

[1] However, in a footnote on p. 128 Munro refers to the part played by a junior wife at the funeral of her child but makes no mention of her role in ancestor worship, nor whether the usual *kamui* were represented inside and outside the house of such a woman when a separate house was built for her.

Mr Watanabe states that there is no evidence for Ainu having more than one legitimate wife (*machi*) for whom ceremonies of betrothal and of marriage, with the accompanying *kamui nomi*, were performed. But concubines called 'small wife' (*pon machi*) were recognized. In former times the Japanese established trading posts in coastal areas, and Ainu would come to these for a season, where they would fish, hunt and trade with the Japanese. Such men might be accompanied by a 'small wife'. In any case, if a man kept a concubine he made a separate hut for her.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura

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845 782 778 184 789 from the inau, two little dolls or rather wooden sticks to the wall, which are meant to represent the twins. This inau is renewed every time the old ashes are removed from the yurt, whereupon they sacrifice to almost all the gods. In the house of one Ainu who inhabited the northern most village of Taraika I saw talismans that had the purpose of preventing the recurrence of a twin birth.

845 /772/ The Ainu avoid women who have borne twins to the same degree as they shrink from twins themselves. They fear that from them the fatal qualities might be transferred to others. In this respect their views are quite different, though, from [171] those of the Gilyak. For they consider soft objects such as household objects of sea weed and articles of clothing as being not so harmful as metal objects or had things in general.

841 789 Sterility. The Ainu believe that a grown-up person can transfer his properties to another. Thus a sterile woman, for instance, will buy various appliances made by a woman with many children. She will use these constantly and she will probably also carry smaller objects on her person. As a good remedy they also give a sterile woman a potion which consists of nothing else but water in which the leather end of a prolific woman's girdle has been boiled. There is also a widespread belief that a sterile woman can be cured if she sits down with her bare buttocks on the just extruded placenta of a woman who has given birth to a child. Some men told me of yet another remedy. The husband of a childless woman lays, without her knowing it, a wooden knife under her pillow which must resemble a real knife exactly. If in a year's time the desired effect has [595] not taken place, the man takes another, younger wife in order to obtain from her the coveted offspring.

841 896 But it is seldom that the Ainu ascribe the fault of childlessness exclusively to the woman. There is rather the general view, that this depends on both mates, or really on their blood which may be hard or soft. If both mates have soft blood they will have a child born to them in the first or second year of their living together. If the blood of one of the mates is